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AUTHOR Paulston, Rolland G.
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ABSTRACT

This report of a field study, conducted from 1966 to 1968, discusses the functional relationships between the class structure of Peruvian society and the structure and content of the country's educational system. Four educational subsystems are closely tied to each of the four main social groups: Blancos (upper class, comprising 0.1% of the total population); Mestizos (middle class, 20.4%); Cholos (lower class, 22.8%); and Indians (marginal, 56.7%). Special attention is given to the mechanisms of internal domination and colonization, reflecting the influence of Lima as the country's power center and cultural, social, and financial metropolis. The growth and problems of Peruvian public education between 1958 and 1968 are discussed and an explanatory model is outlined that describes each of the four social groups in terms of their location in the country's social hierarchy, their physical location (whether urban or rural), the languages they speak, their occupations, the schools they usually attend, and their usual length of schooling. (JK)

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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, POWER, AND EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION: THE PERUVIAN CASE

by

Rolland G. Paulston

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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, POWER, AND EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION: THE PERUVIAN CASE[1]

"That what there is shall go to those who are good for it."

Bertolt Brecht

One of the most durable educational myths, especially among North Americans, is that free universal public education is one of the fastest routes to increased social mobility, to cultural integration, to modernization, and to nationhood. This paper examines some of the consequences of attempts to develop universal schooling in Peru, an Andean country, where over half the population is Indian or recently Indian, and where colonial social patterns and power relationships are perhaps more enduring than in any other south American country. Peru, unlike Mexico and Bolivia, has not experienced a social revolution. The Indian remains totally outside the national Hispanic culture and can only become a Peruvian citizen if he rejects his indigenous culture and enters into a long apprenticeship of learning to be a cholo. Perhaps after a generation or two, his children will be accepted as mestizos. Then it will be their turn to abuse and deprecate the "loathsome Indian" and complain about the "pushy, upstart cholos aping their betters."

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[1]Field work for this study took place in Peru from 1966-68 when the author served as Advisor in Educational Research and Planning to the Peruvian Ministry of Education as a member of the Teachers College, Columbia University USAID Contract Team. All views, interpretations, conclusions, and recommendations in this paper are those of the author and not necessarily those of the supporting or cooperating organizations. I would like to acknowledge the comments and criticisms of Professors John Singleton, Thomas Hart, Christina Bratt Paulston, and Mr. Colin De'Ath, all of the University of Pittsburgh.

In large measure because of Peru's enduring colonial patterns on the one hand and rapid, if highly uneven modernization on the other, numerous social scientists have examined attempts of the two-class superordinate Hispanicized minority, i.e., the mestizos and blancos, to attempt modernization while at the same time trying to perpetuate their dominance of the non-Hispanicized indigenous and cholo majority, or subordinate group. This paper seeks to build upon and add to this body of research by examining how the recent nationwide provision of universal primary and secondary education in Peru has come to function as an additional mechanism in part supporting social disintegration and maintaining the privileged status of the superordinate groups.[2]

During three centuries of colonial rule, education in the Viceroyalty of Peru was mostly private and for the small creole class. With independence from Spain, a public-education system of inferior quality was created during the 19th Century to serve the educational demands of the expanding mestizo class. In the decades following World War II, the public-school system has, with considerable U. S. encouragement and assistance, been extended and structurally differentiated to include children from the two lowest social groups, the cholos and the Indians, who collectively comprise over 75 percent of the total population (See Table 2).

If we are to properly understand how education serves to help maintain the highly hierarchial Peruvian social system and concurrently seeks

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[2]Joseph Fisher has pointed out the critical need for this type of study in his excellent paper, "Social and Cultural Aspects of Educational Development," SEADAG Paper No. 10, 1967. He calls for intensive case histories of (1) how educational systems actually socialize, enculturate, and serve as channels of social mobility and (2) of how educational structures and functions relate to social, cultural, and economic organization

assimilation of subordinate groups, it will be necessary first to review a number of relevant research studies that pertain to the political, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions of internal dominance. Then, against this backdrop a stratification model will be presented and evaluated as a means of describing educational functions vis-a-vis social and cultural organization and of explaining, at least in part, why substantive qualitative change in Peru's rapidly expanding schools, both at the primary and secondary levels, is an unrealistic goal under existing conditions of cultural conflict, educational stratification, and sweeping demographic change.

Mechanisms of Internal Domination and Colonization

Superordinate political domination has been firmly maintained since the early 1500's when Spaniards conquered and Hispanicized the narrow desert strip of coastal Peru and subjugated the Andean highlands where the subordinate indigenous population remains concentrated in the cold, wind-swept mancha india, or Indian heartland, with its capital at Cuzco. Independence and the growth of a large mestizo class only served to heighten the dependence and exploitation of the subordinate groups. Power formerly held by Spain and administered by the colonial bureaucracies was usurped by the miniscule creole landowning elite and their mestizo administrators, and coastal Peru rapidly assumed the metropolitan functions previously held by Spain, the metropolitan colonial power. Lima, the seat of the civil, religious, commercial, and military bureaucracies during the colonial period, has continued to maintain these functions and in nearly every sphere dominates the country. With intensified industrialization, most of which is located in and about Lima, and with heavy internal migration, mostly to Lima, the Capital is continuously growing in both relative and absolute size, power, and importance.

This intrenched pattern of internal colonization where Lima dominates the coastal region, which in turn dominates the highland area, moreover, exhibits a branching effect with mestizo towns in the highlands socially, economically, and politically dominating the frequently impoverished surrounding rural areas. Stavenhagen has pointed out that in Latin America, "underdeveloped" regions within a country perform the role of internal colonies. Local populations do not control their economic life, and most income is drained out with little returned for local development. Not only is capital transferred from the periphery to the metropolis, but the fortunes of the periphery--be it a nation, a region, or a sector--are determined almost exclusively by, and to the advantage of, the metropolis. Thus, instead of stating the problem...in terms of [cultural] dualism [i.e., Hispanic vs. indigenous culture], it might be more accurate to speak of interior colonialism.[3]

Something of the relative advantage maintained by the creole coast is indicated in Table 1.[4] Data for Peru's third region, the tropical selva, is not included, although this area is clearly another region dominated by the superordinate Hispanic minority on the coast.

As non-speakers of Spanish, over 80 percent of the adult Indian population are excluded from participation in the national political

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[3]Rodolfo Stavenhagen. "7 théses environées sur l'Amérique Latine." Partisans, No. 26-27, p. 4.

[4]Data from Peru's last national census of 1961. Percentages for urbanization and literacy are by region. A considerable amount of economic activity in the Sierra is outside the cash economy and not included in the Highlands' share of national income.

TABLE 1

COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE BETWEEN COASTAL AND HIGHLAND PERU

Region	% national population	% national income	% urban	% literate (Over 15 years)	% national electorate
Coast	47	67	69	79	69
Highlands	46	24	29	47	26

system and have no true representation. Indians are, however, counted when apportioning representatives, mostly mestizos, to Congress in Lima. With some 78 percent of the total rural population illiterate, this electoral mechanism discriminates markedly against the total peasant population in all regions. Cotler, for example, found a positive rank correlation of .83 between the economically active population in agriculture and the illiterate population, and a negative correlation of .87 between the agricultural labor population and the national electorate population.[5]

Although Peruvian social organization is undergoing rapid change that is only partially and imperfectly understood, it has most frequently been described as essentially dualistic with the blancos and the mestizos occupying the upper and middle strata, respectively. The lower classes also include two distinct groups: the Indians, a marginal, "floating"

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[5]Julio Cotler. "The Mechanics of Internal Domination and Social Change in Peru." Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol. III, No. 12, (1967-68), p. 236. See also the sections "Who Votes" and "Electoral Representation" in ICOPS, Peru Election Memoranda, n.d., pp. 22-27. The electoral population was about 2.2 million out of a voting-age population of some seven million in 1968.

group cut off from the institutions and resources of the national society, and the rapidly growing cholo class.[6] Members of this transitory group have to various degrees rejected the Indian sub-culture and are moving by waysof assimilation toward the mestizo class, which carries the criollo national culture. Using the metropolitan-colonial analogy, it would seem to be more accurate to view Peru and similar Latin American countries with large Indian-cholo populations (i.e., Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Bolivia, etc.) not as dual societies, but, rather as societies integrated in such a way as to perpetuate the inferiority of the indigenous culture vis-a-vis the Hispanic culture and the rural areas vis-a-vis the urban centers.[7]

It will not be possible to analyze in detail all the numerous other control mechanisms used in maintaining the mestizo-Indian relationship. Suffice it to say that they include the currently much-weakened hacienda with its semi-feudal colonato system somewhat akin to sharecropping in the United States, the privatization of power by mestizo families and individuals especially in the Sierra, the neutralization of integrated sectors of the national society through segmental incorporation--as has occurred in the

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[6]The cholofication process is characterized by rural urbanization, urban ruralization, the mixing of Indian and mestizo cultural traits, the learning of new occupations, and a break with mestizo patronage. The process has been seen by some as the formation of a new social type capable of evolving a new, more inclusive, "national" culture. See especially the work of François Bourricand. Changemants à Puno and Poder y Sociedad en el Perú Contemporaneo. Buenos Aires: Sur, 1967.

[7]Mestizo control of power and wealth is analyzed and discussed by Carlos Malpica in Los Dueños del Perú. Lima: Ediciones Ensayos Sociales, 1968; and Hambre en el Perú. Lima: F. Moncloa, 1966. See also William F. Whyte and Lawrence K. Williams. Towards an Integrated Theory of Development. Ithaca: Cornell University, 1968. Mestizo culture is perhaps best described by Ozzie G. Simmons. See his study "The Criollo Outlook in the Mestizo Culture of Coastal Peru," American Anthropologist, Vol. 62 (1955), pp. 107-117. Although mestizo culture varies considerable between the coast and the Sierra, it is generally characterized by lack of trust, by nationalistic fervor, and by stress on Peruanidad, or national culture. The ideal type

perpetuation of an "ideal value" construct in education and in the mass media that channels aspirations of the masses toward the usually unattainable life styles exhibited by the higher classes.

The distribution of income in Peru, see Table 2, clearly reflects consequences of internal colonization and the economic advantages of the superordinate group. Not unnaturally, members of this group once having inherited or won their rewards use their vastly superior power, prestige, and wealth to widen still further the existing inequalities in their favor.[8]

More recent data confirms the highly skewed distribution of wealth and income. A 1965 report from the National Planning Institute states that 60 percent of all disposable income goes to the top ten percent of the population. Moreover, 35 percent of all income goes to a mere 8,760 spending units, or some .25 percent of the Peruvian population.[9] In brief, the distribution of wealth and income in Peru is extreme. It is more unequal than in any other underdeveloped country for which comparative data is available.[10]

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criollo personality is quick, brillant, skilled at viveza, ingenio, picardía, and good at verbal suasion, or palabrear. The quintessance of Lima criolloism is to gain some desirable objectives through the absolute minimum of effort, to outwit or overcome an opponent through astute trickery. Simmons notes that where high valuation is placed on "getting away" with something or turning an adverse situation to one's advantage--be it in play or in earnest, there can be little confidence and mutual trust.

[8]The ultimately incommensurable nature of power, justice, and social necessity in all societies is discussed in Dennis H. Wrong. "The Functional Theory of Stratification: Some Neglected Considerations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, 1959, pp. 772-782.

[9]E. A. Brady. "La distribución de la penta monetaria agregada en el Perú." Lima: INP, 1965.

[10]See M. C. Taylor. "Problems of Development in Peru." Journal of Inter-American Studies, Vol. 9, No. 1 (January 1967), p. 85. Taylor cites the study by P. D. Ojha and V. V. Bhatt, "Pattern of Income Distribution in an Underdeveloped Economy: A Case Study of India," American Economic Review, September 1964, pp. 714-715.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY MAJOR SOCIAL GROUPS IN 1963

Social Groups (approximations)	% of total population	% of total national income received
Blanco - Large landowners, industrialists, capitalists, some professionals	0.1	19.9
Mestizos - Bureaucrats, businessmen, professionals and sub-professionals, employees, skilled workers, military officer	20.4	53.0
Cholos - Unskilled workers, peddlers, domestics, drivers, clerks, enlisted men	22.8	14.2
Indians - Mountain-dwelling farmers, herders, hacienda laborers, Army draftees	56.7	12.9
	100.0	100.0

Source: Edgardo Seoana, Surcos de Paz, Lima, 1963, p. 33. It should be noted that rapid demographic and social changes are occurring with heavy Indian migration to urban areas, and with cholo return migration. Relatively and absolutely, Indian population is shrinking as the cholo group grows proportionately. The blanco and mestizo groups are much more resistant to mobility and tend to maintain their respective size.

In sum, using a wide variety of control mechanisms, the superordinate group has both consciously and otherwise successfully maintained their power, prestige, and dominance.

> ...because of their knowledge of the Spanish language, their Hispanic culture and their education, and through restriction of these resources to Indian and cholo groups, the mestizos--along with the smaller, foreign-oriented blanco elite--are able to control economic, political, judicial, repressive, and cultural resources: they are the representatives and senators,

> the hacienda owners or administrators, the departmental prefects, sub-prefects and governors: they are also the judges and teachers dominating all authority spheres....[11]

We should take note, however, that with rapid, if uneven, change in Peru, traditional control mechanisms are becoming less effective. Industrialization, land reform, improved communications and transportation, and the cholofication process are all modifying traditional relationships between social groups, and new patterns are beginning to emerge. Formal education plays two important roles in this regard: One is its integrative function as a socializing agent; the second is its disintegrative function. It will be to this second function, especially with regard to schooling's lack of relevance to developmental values, that the remainder of this paper will be devoted.

Educational Consequences of Socio-Cultural Stratification

Mestizo control of the public-education system sphere might be best illustrated as a part of the total-dominance model where each social stratum has historically come to be linked with a distinct educational sub-system. These sub-systems are closely tied to each of the four distinct

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[11] Cotler, op. cit. Given the mestizo-controlled dominance patterns between the coast and the highlands, between urban and rural areas, and between the mestizos and Indians, it becomes something less of a puzzle why mestizo school administrators and teachers have, in the main, been less than enthusiastic for interventionist-sponsored reform programs calling for administrative decentralization of the school system, for schools for Indians, for vocational training, and for the "democratization of the system through curriculum and related reforms."

U. S. educational-assistance teams have operated in Peru during the following four periods: 1909-14, 1918-22, 1944-62, and 1963-69. All these missions have attempted the aforementioned basic reforms of public schooling with varying degrees of success and failure.

social groups: the blancos, the mestizos, the cholos, and the Indians. Table 3 presents a social and educational stratification model that also includes typical attributes of members in each social strata.

This model, it should be noted, is not without limitations and has yet to be empirically tested. It is intended solely as an exploratory device to describe and predict at a national level and to suggest further research. All social sectors do not fit neatly into the model, nor is this my intent. Mestizo farmers found largely in the Northern Highlands and on the coast are a case in point.[12] The near absence of blanco and Indian groups in North Central Peru is another limiting factor. Moreover, with growing pockets of industrialization and modernization, the Peruvian social structure at all levels is undergoing rather marked if exceedingly uneven change, and we should be aware that the criteria used for social classification, as well as the classes themselves, are also changing. These criteria, moreover, have always varied considerably in different regions, and neither social classes nor sub-cultures can be defined with any real precision.

My objective here is to suggest that the social class-linked educational structure reflects and perpetuates the hierarchial social system, and in so doing obstructs educational rationalization and development.[13] This is as much true for the seemingly "democratic"

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[12]See "The Elements of Cultural and Social Stratification" in Paul L. Doughty. Huaylas: An Andean District in Search of Progress. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968, pp. 57-87.

[13]The Peruvian press carries numerous articles concerning the need to reform public instruction and the Ministry of Education. Results of periodic attempts to improve education, however, have been negligible, or less. The Director of Educational Planning from 1964-68 has observed that "It is a well-known aphorism that any educational reform in Peru ends in failure." Carlos Salazar Romero, Educación, October 1966, p. 39. My concern here is to know why.

TABLE 3
PERUVIAN SOCIO-CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL STRATIFICATION

Sub-Culture	General Attributes					
	Location in Social Hierarchy	Location	Languages Spoken	Occupation	Schools Usually Attended	Usual Length of Schooling
Blanco	Upper	Urban (Lima and abroad)	Spanish and other European	Owners	Elite private schools (Lima and abroad)	University-level study in Lima and abroad
	Entrance highly restricted using socio-economic, cultural, and genetic criteria					
Mestizo	Middle (lower-middle through upper-middle)	Urban (provincial and Lima)	Mostly Spanish	Managers, Professionals, Bureaucrats, Skilled Workers	Lesser private schools (better public schools in larger cities)	High school and study at university level (national schools in Lima or in provincial cities)
	Access open but restricted and contested using cultural criteria					
Cholo*	Lower (lower-lower through upper-lower)	Urban-rural (migratory)	Indigenous (Quechua or Aymara) and Spanish	Unskilled workers, menial vendors, soldiers	Public schools	Primary (and some secondary in larger cities)
	Social mobility blocked; acculturation encouraged and rewarded in urban settings, restricted in rural[14]					
Indian	Marginal	Rural	Indigenous (Quechua or Aymara; males some Spanish)	Agricultural laborers, small farmers, herders	Nuclear--Indian schools of the Sierra; Bi-Lingual--jungle schools	Several years of primary, or unschooled

*Cholos are a transitionary group and as yet have evolved only a proto-subculture. They are, however, a rather distinct social group combining Indian and mestizo cultures in varying degrees.

[14]Acculturation of Indian workers on highland haciendas as example is generally not encouraged. Craig observed that "Deliberate restrictions were imposed by the hacendados (i.e., blanco or mestizo ranchers) to force the Indian workers to maintain the traditional aspects of their Indianness and thus prevent them from climbing a social step upward. Few haciendas provided any educational facilities for children of the peasants. The hacendados fear that "...education among his workers would impair his control over them, that education makes agitators out of workers." See Wesley W. Craig. From Hacienda to Community: An Analysis of Solidarity and Social Change in Peru. Cornell University Latin American Studies Program, No. 6, 1967, pp. 20-21.

public primary schools as for the snobbish and elite private primary schools. Although there is some overlap because of the limited upward and downward social mobility, the class-linked school sub-systems are in all cases attended by the vast majority of school-aged children in each linked social sector. The degree to which Peruvian adults and school children are aware of the rewards and punishments implicit in the model and the extent that such understanding influences their actions and perceptions will be investigated at a later date.

Indian children did not begin attending schools, aside from a few scattered religious efforts, in appreciable numbers until after World War II when the nuclear schools of the Sierra and the bi-lingual jungle schools were begun and supported with very substantial monetary, skills, and motivation inputs from North American government (ICA, AID, etc.) agencies and missionary groups (Summer Institute of Linguistics, etc.). Although increasing numbers of Indians now attend these schools, most students drop out after a year or two and few complete primary school.

Obstacles to improving Indian schools are overwhelming. Facilities are few; they are frequently isolated and nearly always impoverished. They are under the direct supervision of the mestizo-dominated Ministry of Public Education in Lima. Other equally debilitative factors have been: (1) the gradual withdrawal of U. S. AID support and the failure of Peruvians to take up the slack; (2) the desperate poverty, the occasional starvation, and the need for child labor in rural areas of the Sierra; (3) the use of Spanish as the exclusive language of instruction, even in non-Spanish-speaking areas; and (4) a totally irrelevant national curriculum based on an idealized version of coastal urban high culture. These are all factors

that restrict and limit schooling for most Indian children to a maximum of a few years at best.[15] Moreover, for an Indian to attend school is to begin the rejection of his culture, his community, his family, his friends. Many Indian parents cling persistently to the patria chica, or Indian national community, and reject the acculturation of their children by avoiding schools in particular and mestizos in general. Acculturation is not altogether voluntary, however. There is compulsory military service in Peru, supposedly for all, but mostly for Indians, which has been very effective in drafting Indian boys and teaching them in a tightly controlled situation to be ashamed of indigenous culture and, thus, to reject it.[16]

Cholos, in contrast, avidly seek public schooling, preferably of the humanistic type, and the explosive expansion of public education during the recently deposed government of Fernando Belaunde (1963-68) (See Table 4) is in large part a direct consequence of increased cholo and Indian migration to the coast and to the cities of the Sierra. Both the

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[15]See Arestegui Moras, Miguel A. Sistema de Nucleos Escolares Campesinos Cuzco, 1966; and the excellent study by John Baum. Estudio Sobre la educación rural en el Perú: Los Nucleos escolares campesinos. Mexico, D. F.: RTAC, 1967. The government has now and then promoted rural community-development programs in the Mancha India, as is the case with the current $18 million BID loan program. These bureaucratic reform attempts have been at best superficial, and at worst merely opportunities offering mestizo administrators etc., jobs, increased salaries, commercial transactions, graft, etc. In contrast, several university programs, as Cornell University at Vicos and Cuzco University at Cuyo Chico have had notable if limited success in directed change. A variety of these programs are described in Rolland G. Paulston. Educación y el cambio dirigido de la comunidad: Una bibliografía anotada con referencia especial al Perú. Occasional Paper No. 3, Center for Studies in Education and Development, Cambridge: Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1969. See especially Chapters 4 and 5 covering empirical studies and specific programs.

[16]See David F. Gates, et al. An Exploratory Study of the Role of Armed Forces in Education: Iran, Israel, Peru, Turkey. McLean: RAC, 1968, p. 39.

absence and provision of schooling in the Sierra has stimulated out-migration to urban areas where most public schooling is located. In much of the Sierra those seeking schooling could only find it in urban, or mestizo, settings. Where schools for Indians have been established, the educational experience, as does military service, socializes the participants and greatly facilitates their recruitment into the national economy and political culture.[17]

TABLE 4

GROWTH OF PERUVIAN PUBLIC EDUCATION, 1958-68

	1958	1968	% increase
Public-school students (primary and secondary)	1,474,000	3,150,000	113.70
Teachers (primary and secondary	64,019	118,367	84.89
National Population	9,114,000	12,800,000*	40.44

*Estimated

Source: Fernando Belaunde Terry. Mensaje Presidencial, 1968. Lima, pp. 478 ff.

That internal migration, both from rural to urban areas and, also, from urban slums to shantytowns, or barriadas, has been primarily a phenomenon of youth migration can be seen in the following data. Of Lima's 1968 population of 2,500,000 inhabitants, 60 percent, or some 1,500,000 million, lived in the shantytowns, now euphemistically called "Pueblos Jovenes." Shantytown dwellers are indeed young; 65 percent are between 11 and 25 years of age, while 45 percent are less than 15 years old.[18]

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[17] See, for example, Ira Silverman. "Rural Education for Peruvian Political Development." Princeton University, December 1967. (mimeo.) for a case study of the Quimua nucleo located between Ayachucho and Huancayo.

[18] El Comercio, May 21, 1968.

Public education is now truly mass education and not as formerly almost exclusively for the superordinate groups. Nearly 85 percent of all children register for the first year of school (transición), though almost one-half don't return the following year, and only about one-third complete the sixth and final year of primary schooling.

Because the ever-larger wave of cholos has by and large occupied the urban public schools formerly occupied by mestizos, this latter group has increasingly placed its children in the many new and usually inferior private schools that have sprung up in all of the larger urban centers. Mestizo parents frequently make great financial sacrifices to place their children in private schools attended by other mestizos, even though many will acknowledge that free public primary and secondary schools, especially in the larger urban centers, occasionally offer better instruction and facilities.[19]

Children of the blanco upper class usually attend the several dozen highly selective and expensive private schools in Greater Lima operated for the most part by foreign nationals and religious orders, or they study abroad.

Although Peru's educational hierarchy differs only in degree from those found in many other heterogeneous societies, there is one characteristic of most Latin American societies that is crucial if one is to understand

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[19]With the universalization of public schooling, the number of private schools has skyrocketed. These institutions in 1968 enrolled about 10 percent of all primary students, over 28 percent of all secondary students, and approximately 35 percent of all normal-school pupils. See Ministerio de Educación Pública. Centro de Investigaciones Pedagógicas. La Educación en Gráficos. Lima: The Center, 1968.

the resistance to qualitative change at the sub-system level, especially in the crucial sector of public education.[20] This is that race, or raza, is largely defined in social and cultural terms. An Indian could conceivably be accepted as a blanco if he had the requisite economic means and background of European culture. As nearly all Indians and cholos, and most mestizos (and even many blancos), are predominantly Amerindian racially, there is great resistance among members of these groups or "social races" to behave in a manner that might lead to confusion, or identify them with the Indian culture, or with the growing numbers of culturally mobile ex-Indians who have opted for "choloficación."[21]

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[20]The complacent North American belief that free universal public education does in fact provide "equal educational opportunity" and unrestricted mobility to all able students has been shattered by several recent social-science investigations, most notably the massive Coleman Report and Equal Educational Opportunity, Harvard. These studies leave little doubt that in the United States, as in Peru, there is extreme inequality of achievement along social class and racial lines, that public schools are increasingly reinforcing social inequalities rather than alleviating them. It is only that in Peru, because of its more rigid social hierarchy, the structured educational inequality is more visible and restrictive.

[21]Problems of applying the concepts of "social race," "ethnic class," and "socio-economic class" are discussed in Richard W. Patch. "La Parada, Lima's Market: Serrano and Criollo, the Confusion of Race with Class." AUFSR, West Coast South America Series, Vol. 14, No. 2 (February 1967); Charles W. Wagley, "On the Concept of Social Race in the Americas." Actas del 33 Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. Vol. 1, San Jose: Lehman, 1959, pp. 403-417; and Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Race, Color, and Class in Central America and the Andes." Daedalus, (Spring 1967). Pitt-Rivers notes that while "race" is a matter of culture and community, not genes, social-class status is in various ways connected with genes.

With open, if restricted, channels for upward social and cultural mobility,[22] there is a strong tendency for the successful upwardly mobile at all levels to reject their sub-culture of origin and to identify with the cultural behavior and values of the next higher stratum. The rigidity and resistance to educational planning and to qualitative change in the national educational system stems principally from this fact, that each group in large measure draws its teachers and administrators from the next higher sub-culture in the hierarchy, i.e., each social level tends to control the educational sub-system of the next lower group in the highly structured social hierarchy. Thus, the elite private schools are dominated by the next higher group in the social hierarchy, i.e., the Europeans. Downwardly mobile blancos operate, for financial reasons, the lesser private schools for aspiring mestizo children whom they commonly regard as parvenu, or "huachafo." Mestizos for the most part staff and operate the public schools attended by cholo children. Their mobility aspirations are frequently openly derided by the members of the mestizo

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[22]Beals' claim that in Peru there exists an "almost completely impermeable" mobility barrier between the blanco and mestizo groups has been sharply challenged by Chaplin's recent study on changes in the distribution of wealth and income in Peru. He concludes that there has been a "high level of social mobility among the traditional landed aristocracy, contrary to a mistaken picture of rigid stability among such groups." See Ralph L. Beals. "Social Stratification in Latin America," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 58, 1963, p. 334; and David Chaplin. "Industrialization and the Distribution of Wealth in Peru." Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol. 3, No. 3, (1967-68), p. 61. Chaplin also notes, however, that most commonly the blanco group recruits new members from abroad--usually Europe--rather than from the mestizo class. Blanco indigenistas romanticize Peru's indians but always at a distance and tend to blame their country's many ills on the mestizos. The mestizo is seen as a psychic and spiritual hybrid who has inherited the defects of his Indian and Spanish ancestors without being able to conserve the remains of the gentlemanly life of the conquerors. See, for example, Alejandro O. Deustua. Ante el Conflicto: Problemas Economico-sociales y morales del Perú. Lima: 1931, p. 11.

bureaucracy which tightly controls the highly centralized if poorly coordinated public-school system. And because mestizo teachers seek to avoid "contaminating" contacts with Indians, whom they commonly describe as "the animal most similar to man," teachers in the Indian schools of the Sierra and Selva are most frequently the lowliest of public-school teachers, i.e., cholos who, in turn, seek to hide their recent "evolution" from indigenous to Hispanic culture.[23]

Dysfunctional consequences of this control pattern are not difficult to find.[24] Teachers and administrators tend to place their children in one class-linked educational system and to work with children in the schools of the next lower level. Needless to say, within this type of relationship, teachers, et al, are usually more concerned with matters of personal gain than with improved instruction and student achievement. The mestizo bureaucracy that operates the public schools, for example, receives in wages over 95 percent of the education budget that totals nearly one-fourth of the national budget.[25] Moreover, a considerable

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[23]For a discussion of the mutual distrust between mestizos and Indians of the Peruvian sierra, and the control practices of the former contrasted to the survival patterns of the latter, see Jacob Fried. "The Indian and Mestizaje in Peru." Human Organization, (Spring 1961), p. 24. For an example of the widespread idea in Latin America that "cultura" is the critical element in social evolution from the lower (Indian) to the highest (blanco) social levels, see William C. Sayres. "Social Evolution in Mestizo Philosophy." Social Forces, Vol. 35 (1957), pp. 370-73.

[24]The indifference of the public-school system to the needs of pupils, the inefficiency of the system, and the financial greed of school teachers and administrators have been constant complaints in the Peruvian popular literature demanding educational reform. The 15215 law of 1964 that greatly increased school employees' salaries much intensified these complaints. See, for example, the critique of Fernando Romer, "Un Grave problema educativo." La Prensa, November 24, 1968, p. 22.

[25]See, for example, Educational Budgets for Ministry of Education, 1966-68, and Fernando Belaunde Terry. Mensaje Presidencial 1968. Lima, 1968. See also Appendix A for Peru's relatively high investment in public education, i.e., in salaries.

part of the remaining five percent is paid to mestizo landlords who rent private homes and buildings to the Ministry of Education for use as classrooms.[26] Textbooks and school uniforms must be purchased by all students--many of whom come from families living at or near the starvation level--while instructional materials, supplies, audio-visual aids, and the like are virtually non-existant in public schools and found only in the better private schools. Aspects of the educational process associated with the superordinate groups (i.e., humanistic studies, gentlemanly leisure, intellectual speculation, and "beautiful words") are seen as rewarding; while aspects associated with the subordinate groups (i.e., agricultural and vocational studies, rural situations, practicality, physical work) are commonly perceived as more or less threatening and undesirable. The failure of periodic attempts to plan and reform public education to meet better the manpower needs in the agricultural, technical, and scientific sectors can in large part be explained by considerations of cultural self-identification.[27]

Schools are generally not maintained, classes are usually grossly overcrowded, and more than half of all students do not have proper school desks. In sum, the Peruvian public-school student is the neglected man in the educational system. His well-being, growth, and development are consistantly subordinated to the vested interests of the mestizo teachers

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[26]More than one-third of all public-school classes are held in rented facilities, many of which are owned by relatives of school administrators, and many of which are in decrepit and unsanitary conditions.

[27]Most students study in agricultural and technical schools only because they are unable, for one reason or another, to enter the academic secondary stream. William F. Whyte found that the majority of technical students refused the idea of future technical employment and sought university entrance for humanistic studies. A recent follow-up study of the Ministry Center for Educational Researchhas confirmed these findings. See W. F. Whyte, "Culture, Industrial Relations, and Industrial Development: The Case of Peru." Industrial And Labor Relations Review, (July 1963).

and administrators who seek his acculturation and indoctrination with the least possible expenditure directly benefiting the student population. Despite an impressive expenditure of nearly six percent of the GNP in education (See Appendix B), benefits to students are declining.

Rote learning of an inflexible nationwide curriculum stresses the cultural superiority of the superordinate groups, respect for authority, and the legitimacy of the existing institutions (i.e., the military, the Church, the civil bureaucracy). Both the content of the curriculum and the thought inhibiting instructional methods help to perpetuate the practice of internal colonization used by these superordinate groups to maintain their privileged positions.

Primary schooling, aside from its "cooling down" and "selecting out" functions, also serves as a first hurdle in the route to the university and the professions where, for the successful few, mestizo status is assured.[28] Schooling both facilitates limited upward mobility, reinforces existing class divisions, and provides a means by which the masses of cholo children are taught an idealized version of the rewards of national Hispanic culture. Even the vast majority of cholo students who drop out learn the rudiments of literacy and arithmetic, the inferiority of their cholo status and Indian origins, the superiority of the superordinate

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[28] In December 1968, 53,586 students graduated from the fifth year of secondary school; and of these, some 46,000 took university entrance examinations. Of these only some 5,000 candidates, or less than ten percent, were able to secure entrance into a university. See El Comercio, May 21, 1969.

groups who enjoy rewards "appropriate" to their high status. Public-school children are, in short, taught "their place."[29]

The need for Indian and cholo students to disassociate entirely with their Indianness, to identify with the national Hispanic culture, and to accept the doctrine of social evolution from Indio Puro (pure Indian), to Indio Civilizado (Civilized Indian), to non-Indian is, of course, crucial to the continuation of existing patterns of social organization, domination, and power. The marked contrast between Mexico and Peru in this regard might be noted. Mexican school children since the Revolution of 1910 have been taught to glory in their Indian culture, or raza, and that Indians are Mexicans. Peruvian school children, in painful contrast, are taught to be ashamed of their Indian origins and culture, to deny them, to make believe that they are, despite of their physical appearance, really spaniards at heart.[30]

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[29]Ivan Illich in his article "The Futility of Schooling In Latin America," Saturday Review, April 20, 1968, pp. 57-59 ff. concludes that schooling does not and cannot realize the development objectives set by Latin American governments, AID, UNESCO, et al. It has not led to significant reduction of rural marginality, of social distance between "the closed, feudal, hereditary elite" and the "landless rural masses." Schooling has not led to greater social integration. It "is a narrow bridge across a widening social gap. As the only legitimate passage to the middle class, the school restricts all unconventional crossings and leaves the underachiever to bear the blame for his marginality."

[30]Pike has noted a shift in Peruvian prejudices from primarily racial to cultural considerations. "The discriminated-against Indian can look forward to acceptance and fair treatment in society if he ceases to be an Indian, and adopts the cultural outlooks, values, habits, and the white, or mestizo, Westernized way of life. Cultural prejudice is less viscous and permanent than racial, for people can, and in Peru increasingly do, change their cultures." See "Mestizaje and the Future" in Frederick B. Pike. The History of Modern Peru. London: Werdenfeld and Nicolson, 1967, pp. 21-23.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has considered some of the functional relationships between Peruvian socio-cultural organization and the structure and content of the educational system. Public education has been characterized, especially at the lower levels, as essentially colonializing rather than rational. Primary functions of schooling continue to be (1) the assimilation of non-Hispanic elements, (2) the legitimization of superordinate cultural, economic, and political dominance, and (3) the certification, on the basis of length and type of education, as to where individuals should be placed in the socio-cultural hierarchy.

We have noted that a number of factors, such as extension of public education to the subordinate group, improved transportation and extended mass media, economic development, and population pressure have converged to stimulate heavy internal migration. With nearly 30 percent of the total population migrating (mostly to urban areas), the national school system has come under increasing pressure from the cholo element to consolidate their recent upward social and cultural mobility and to facilitate continued social evolution. At the same time, elements of the superordinate groups seeking to develop the national economy have been relatively unsuccessful in attempts to rationalize and modernize public education. Their concern, to create a more development-oriented school system, has been opposed by the majority of public-school pupils, parents, and teachers. The first two groups are more concerned with continuing to improve their condition (i.e., from Indio puro to Indio civilizado, to non-Indian) in the evolutionary ladder. The teachers, as with most mestizos, are primarily concerned with maintaining the existing social and

cultural organization and the educational organization that serves as the primary mechanism for acculturation without integration.

Although Peru is currently experiencing renewed attempts to alter the country's institutional structure, it appears unlikely, however, that these efforts stand much chance of success without corresponding changes in the existing ideology of socio-cultural evolution, an underlying rationale that has been used to justify privileges of the superordinate group since the Conquest. Until Peru develops a new national culture that, as in Mexico, seeks to combine both the Hispanic and indigenous elements in a new cholo national culture, attempts at educational modernization will continue to be both acclaimed and subverted. It may well be the case that in countries such as Peru, where formal schooling is preoccupied with conferring status, the non-formal educational systems, i.e., the "shadow education systems" comprised of training programs in industry, in unions, in cooperatives and agricultural-extension programs, etc., offer the best opportunities to compensate for and circumvent elite-dominated and increasingly dysfunctional articulated school systems. In this way, confrontation with superordinate groups might be avoided while new educational institutions and organizations better able to mobilize and prepare the human resources required for national development could be created and nurtured.

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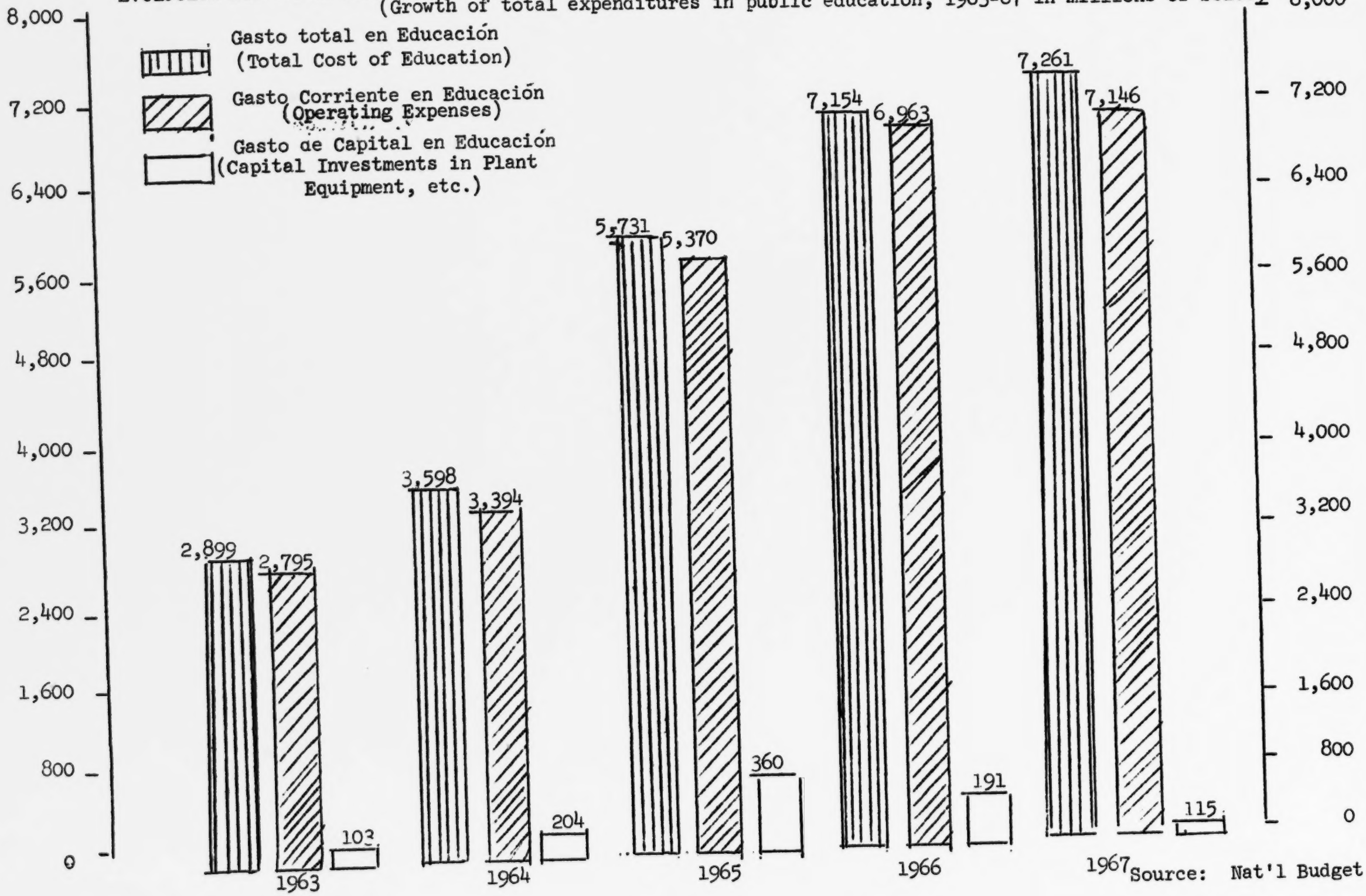
APPENDIX A

EVOLUCION DEL GASTO TOTAL EN EDUCACION PUBLICA - 1963-1967 EN MILLIONES DE SOLES
(Growth of total expenditures in public education, 1963-67 in millions of Soles)

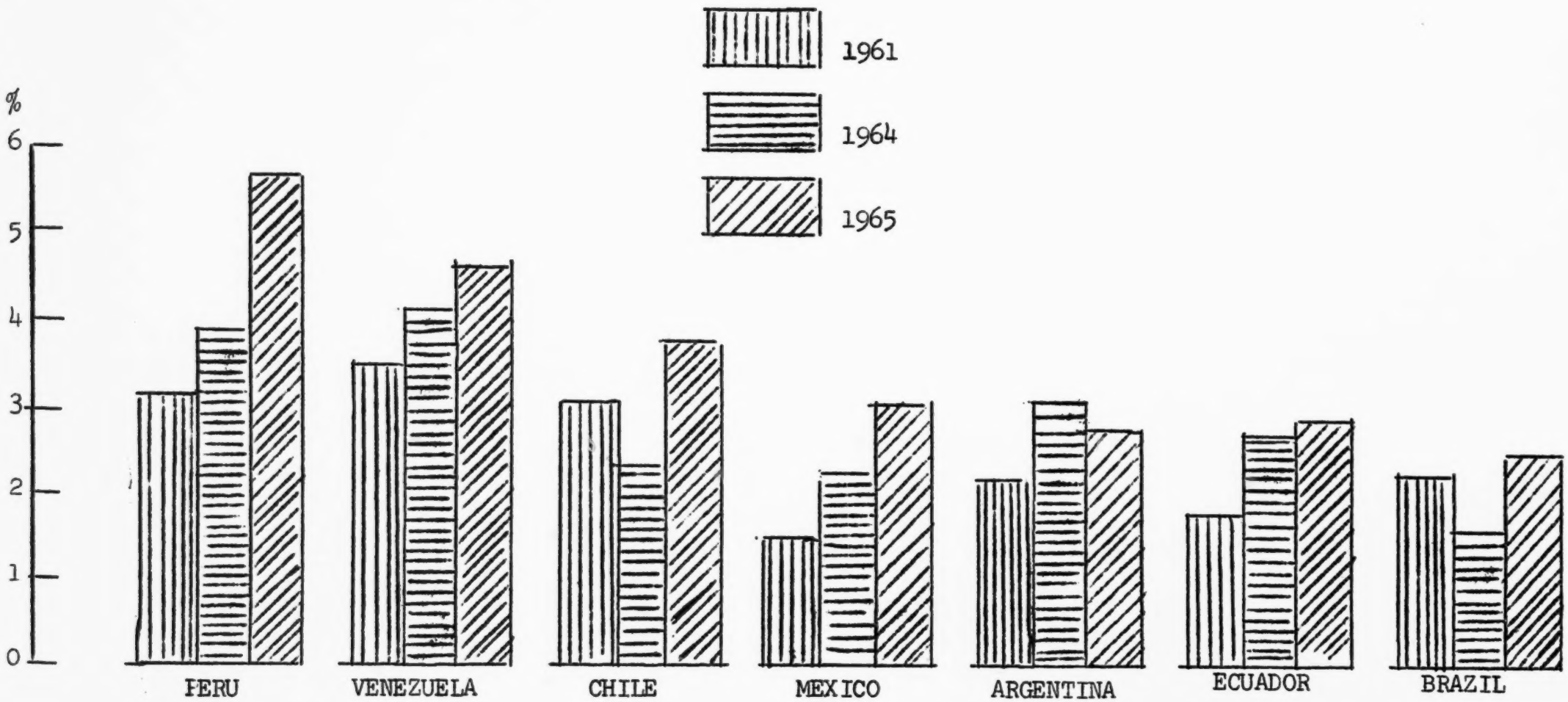


Source: Nat'l Budget.

APPENDIX B

GASTOS EN EDUCACION COMO PORCENTAJE DEL PRODUCTO NACIONAL BRUTO EN ALGUNOS PAISES DE AMERICA LATINA

(Educational Expenses as a Percent of GNP in Selected Latin American Countries)



Source : UNESCO